

Appendix

Introducing OPAMED: A Dataset on Party Membership in Autocracies

Contents

A Missing Party-Based Autocracies	1
B Codebook variables	2
C Selected Source List for OPAMED	5

A Missing Party-Based Autocracies

Table A1: List of Party-Based Autocracies Missing from OPAMED and present in GWF

Nicaragua	Bolivia	Gambia	Senegal	Niger
Ivory Coast	Guinea	Sierra Leone	Kenya	Rwanda
Zambia	Zimbabwe	Namibia	Lesotho	Botswana
Madagascar	Tunisia	Yemen South	Sri Lanka	Cambodia
El Salvador	Congo Brazzaville	Burundi	Algeria	

B Codebook variables

OPAMED has 28 variables, detailed as follow:

Partyfacts ID [partyfacts_id]

It is a numeric variable associating each ruling party to a number based on Partyfacts ID coding scheme. *Suggested variable for merging OPAMED with other datasets on political parties.*

VDem country ID [country_id_vdem]

It is a numeric variable associating each country to a number based on V-Dem ID coding scheme. *Suggested variable for merging OPAMED with other datasets on national entities/states/countries.*

Ruling Party Name [name_party]

It is a nominal variable that indexes the name of each ruling party governing a country or a territory present in OPAMED.

Ruling Party Name Tag [party_tag]

It is a nominal variable that indexes the tags of each ruling party governing a country or a territory present in OPAMED.

Country Name [country]

It is a nominal variable indexing the name of countries present in OPAMED. *Suggested variable for merging OPAMED with other datasets that **DO NOT** follow V-Dem country ID scheme.*

Country Tag [country_tag]

It is a nominal variable indexing the tags of countries present in OPAMED.

Year [year]

This variable represents OPAMED time, ranging from 1945 to 2020.

Continent [continent]

This is a nominal variable representing the different geographic regions where each of the ruling party rules.

Membership Volatility [memb_growth]

It a continuous variable presenting the yearly membership growth of each of the ruling parties.

Party Size [mempop_100]

It a positive continuous variable presenting the ruling party members-to-population in the society

they govern.

Absolute Membership [membership_1000]

It is a continuous variable indicating the absolute party membership at time t (in thousands).

Years Since Foundation [foundation_miller]

It represents the numbers of years since the foundation of the ruling party. The higher the number, the older the party is. This variable is computed from Miller's (2020) "Year Founded" variable in "Autocratic Ruling Parties Dataset."

Population (in millions) [population_mln]

This variable is computed from the World Bank open access data on population. It represents the absolute national population in millions.

Survival Outcome [Survival]

This is a dummy variable taking value 1 when the ruling party survives and 0 at time t when the party fails. The failure is determined not by the fall of the regime, yet by the official dismantling of the ruling party organization structure, leadership, or membership.

Party Survived (3-level) [survived]

It is an ordinal variable taking value 0 if the ruling party failed, 1 if the ruling party outlived a regime failure, and 2 if the ruling party survives as well as its regime.

Elite Size [whogov_core]

This is the "n_core" continuous variable in WhoGov database by Nyrup and Bramwell (2020), and it captures the size of core elites governing the country.

Leadership Succession [leadership_transition]

It is an ordinal variable where each level represents a leadership succession. Level 1 represents the founder leader, while all subsequent levels are the following generations. The highest level is 22, which represents the 22nd leadership transition.

Election [election]

This dummy variable takes value 1 at time t if there is a general election, and 0 otherwise.

Regime Type [regime]

This is an ordinal variable where each level represents a regime type within the scope of one-party regimes. The order follows from the least stringent to the most closed regime. In particular,

0 represents dominant-party regimes, 1 single-party, and 2 totalitarian parties.

Autocratic Level [p5_polity2]

This is computed from the “p5 polity2” created by PolityV. It is a continuous variable ranging from -10 to +10 representing the level of political freedom, associating the most negative points with a less free society, and positive with freer societies. -10 represents unfree society, while +10 a democratic society.

Marxist [marxist]

This is a dummy variable focusing on ideology, taking value 1 when the ruling party ideology is Marxist-Leninist, while 0 otherwise.

GDP per capita [gdp_pc_mpd]

This continuous historical variable is computed from the Maddison Project Database “gdp_pc” variable. It is the most accurate variable currently available to detail the GDP per capita in authoritarian regimes.

Oil per capita [oil_pc]

It is a continuous variable computed from the World Bank open access data on oil per capita. The World Bank reports the computation tool as “the difference between the value of crude oil production at world prices and total costs of production.”

Inequality Index SWIID [gini_swiid]

The SWIID Database by Solt (2020) is the most accurate in reporting inequality indexes for one-party regimes. This is a continuous variable ranging between 0 and 100, where the lower the value, the higher the level of inequality.

GDP growth [GDP_growth]

It is a continuous variable computed from the World Bank open access data on GDP growth for each country.

C Selected Source List for OPAMED

Sources Used for Multiple Cases

1. Josh Maiyo (2008), Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa, From Representative to Participatory Democracy, University of Leiden Dissertation (unpublished)
2. CIA 1963 - World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations (CIA-RDP65-00756R000300100001-6)
3. CIA 1961 - Communist and Marxist Parties of Latin America (CIA-RDP78-00915R001200220001-3)
4. (Policy Studies Organization Series) Stuart S. Nagel, Vladimir Rukavishnikov (eds.) - Eastern European Development and Public Policy-Palgrave Macmillan UK (1994)
5. Stephen White, Daniel Nelson (eds.) - Communist Politics A Reader-Macmillan Education UK (1986)
6. Roger Owen - State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East 3rd edition (2004)
7. Dosek - Party Membership in Latin American Political Parties What is the Role of the Militantes (2014) - Presented at the workshop "Contemporary Meanings of Party Membership" ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops
8. Tessler, M. A. (1972). The Application of Western Theories and Measures of Political Participation to a Single-Party North African State. *Comparative Political Studies*, 5(2), 175-191.

Angola

1. Paul Fauvet, In Defence of the MPLA and the Angolan Revolution, 1979
2. Munslow (1986) Angola: Second Congress of the MPLA-Workers' Part, *The Journal of Communist Studies*
3. Ricardo de Sousa, (2009), The Nature of the Parties on the Prospects of Power-Sharing in the Angola Peace Processes, in Cristina Rodrigues Udelsmann and Ana Bénard da Costa (2009) *Poverty and Peace in the Portuguese Speaking African Countries*

4. Mathias de Alencastro (2018), Angola Under Lourenço Towards a Negotiated Hegemony, Observatoire de l'Afrique australe et des Grands Lacs, Ifri
5. Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, Illiberal peacebuilding in Angola The Journal of Modern African Studies , JUNE 2011, Vol. 49, No. 2 (JUNE 2011), pp. 287-314
6. Hackenesch C. (2018) Angola. In: The EU and China in African Authoritarian Regimes. Governance and Limited Statehood. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [link](#)
7. Fauvet, P., In Defence of the MPLA and the Angolan Revolution, Review of African Political Economy, May - Dec., 1979, No. 15/16, The Roots of Famine (May - Dec., 1979), pp. 148-152

Ethiopia

1. Lovise Aalen and Kjetil Tronvoll, The End of Democracy? Curtailing Political and Civil Rights in Ethiopia, Review of African Political Economy
2. Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2020), Country Information Report: Ethiopia
3. Solomon Gebreyohans Gebru (2014), Political Parties, Party Programmaticity and Party System in Post 1991 Ethiopia, European Scientific Journal
4. Merera Gudina The State, Competing Ethnic Nationalisms and Democratisation in Ethiopia, African Journal of Political Science / Revue Africaine de Science Politique
5. Terrence Lyons, Ethiopian Elections: Past and Future, International Journal of Ethiopian Studies
6. [House Hearing, 115 Congress][From the U.S. Government Publishing Office], [link](#)

Mozambique

1. Mark Simpson, Foreign and Domestic Factors in the Transformation of Frelimo, The Journal of Modern African Studies , Jun., 1993, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Jun., 1993), pp. 309-337
2. Giovanni M. Carbone, Continuidade na renovação? Ten Years of Multiparty Politics in Mozambique: Roots, Evolution and Stabilisation of the Frelimo-Renamo Party System, The Journal of Modern African Studies , Sep., 2005, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Sep., 2005), pp. 417-442

3. CIA 1982 - USSR Report political and sociological affairs (CIA-RDP82-00850R000500070061-2)
4. Arcénio Francisco Cuco (2016), FRELIMO: De un Movimento Revolucionário a Partido Político, Revista NEP - Núcleo de Estudos Paranaenses da UFPR
5. Adriano Nuvunga and Eduardo Siteo, Party Institutionalisation in Mozambique. ‘The Party of the state’ vs the Opposition, Journal of african Elections
6. Barry Munslow , Mozambique: Marxism-Leninism in reverse, the fifth congress of Frelimo, Journal of Communist Studies
7. Jason Sumich, The Party and the State: Frelimo and Social Stratification in Post-socialist Mozambique, Development and Change 41(4): 679–698 (2010).
8. Oberst - Chama Cha Mapinduzi and FRELIMO the Party and the Transition to Socialism

Tanzania

1. Kevin Croke, Tools of single party hegemony in Tanzania evidence from surveys and survey experiments, Democratization
2. Hyden, Goran - Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry-Heinemann (1985)
3. Killian (2006-2009), Popular support for multi-party democracy in tanzania, Utafiti 7(2), 67-80
4. Oberst - Chama Cha Mapinduzi and FRELIMO the Party and the Transition to Socialism

Turkey

1. Anthony Bubalo, Greg Fealy Whit Mason, zealous democrats, ISLAMISM AND DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT, INDONESIA AND TURKEY, Lowy Institute for International Policy
2. Baykan - The Justice and Development Party in Turkey
3. Esen Gumuscu - Why did Turkish democracy collapse A political economy account of AKP’s authoritarianism
4. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi Üye Sayısı [link](#)
5. Her 100 seçmenden 14’ü bir parti üyesi, [link](#)

Albania

1. Edited by Věra Stojarová and Peter Emerson, Party Politics in the Western Balkans
2. CIA - Country Plan Albania
3. CIA 1953 - Organization of the communist party Albania (CIA-RDP80-00810A000100360002-2)
4. CIA 1948 - Speech Delivered by Tuk Jakova to Albanian Politburo (CIA-RDP82-00457R002400570006)
5. HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

China

1. Brodsgaard Yongnian - The Chinese Communist Party in Reform
2. Brodsgaard. 2018 - China's Communist Party From Mass to Elite Party
3. Bruce Dickson - The Dictator's Dilemma The Chinese Communist Party's Strategy for Survival-Oxford University Press, USA (2016)
4. Gore - The Communist Party-Dominated Governance Model of China Legitimacy, Accountability, and Meritocracy
5. Hans J. van de Ven - From Friend to Comrade The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920-1927-University of California Press (1992)
6. Stanley Rosen, The Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Society: Popular Attitudes Toward Party Membership and the Party's Image, The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs
7. Xiaobo Lu - Cadres and Corruption The Organizational Involution of the Chinese Communist Party (2002)
8. Zheng - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China

DPRK

1. Andrei Lankov - North of the DMZ Essays on Daily Life in North Korea-McFarland (2007)
2. CIA 1987 - Sings of Stability in North Korean Workers' Party (CIA-RDP04T00907R000200280001-1)
3. Furukawa - THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA (1)

4. Andrei Nikolaevich Lankov, In-ok Kwak and Choong-Bin Cho, The Organizational Life: Daily Surveillance and Daily Resistance in North Korea, Journal of East Asian Studies
5. Worden Robert L. (ed) - North Korea a country study
6. Hyonhee Shin, Factbox: Key facts about North Korea's ruling Workers' Party congress, JANUARY 6, 20212:31 Am, [link](#)

Laos

1. Thayer - LAOS IN 1982: THE THIRDCONGRESS OF THE LAO PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, ASIAN SURVEY, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, January 1983
2. Soulatha Sayalath and Simon Creak, REGIME RENEWAL IN LAOS: The Tenth Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, Southeast Asian Affairs
3. Joseph J. Zasloff and MacAlister Brown, LAOS: Coping with Confinement, Southeast Asian Affairs
4. Gunn - LAOS IN 2006 Changing of the Guard, ASIAN SURVEY, VOL. XLVII, NO. 1, JANUARY FEBRUARY 2007
5. Bourdet - Laos in 1996, please don't rush, ASIANSURVEY, VOL. XXXVIIN, O.1, JANUARY 1997
6. Bourdet - LAOS IN 2001 Political Introversion and Economic Respite, SIAN SURVEY, VOL. XLII, NO. 1, JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2002
7. Brown Zasloff - LAOS 1976 FALTERING FIRST STEPS TOWARD SOCIALISM,
8. CIA 1972 - Communism and Cambodia
9. CIA 1984 - Party and Government Reform in Laos (CIA-RDP04T00367R000301960002-3)
10. Simon Creak Keith Barney (2018) Conceptualising Party-State Governance and Rule in Laos, Journal of Contemporary Asia
11. Goscha - The case of Vietnamese communist advisers in Laos (1948-62), South East Asia Research, 12, 2, pp. 141-185
12. Joiner - Laos in 1987, ASIAN SURVEY, VOL. XXVIII, NO. 1, JANUARY 1988
13. Nhan Dan, Lao People's Revolutionary Party convenes 11th national congress, Wednesday, 2021-01-13 17:41:32, [link](#)

Cuba

1. Felipe Ruiz Alonso, EL V CONGRESO DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE CUBA, América Latina, Hoy, n.º 18
2. CIA 1954 - Election-time violence threatened in Cuba (CIA-RDO79R00890A000400020057-9)
3. CIA 1965 - The Cuban Communist Party (CIA-RDP79-00927A005000130002-3)
4. CIA 1968 - Political trends in Cuba (CIA-RDP79-00927A006300060004-5)
5. Raúl Castro, Informe Central al VI Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba, Granma Internacional, [link](#)
6. Rafael Hernández , Demografía política Partido Comunista Cuba 2012, [link](#)
7. William M. LeoGrande, El Partido Comunista de Cuba y la Política Electoral: Adaptación, Sucesión y Transición
8. El desarrollo de la economía nacional, junto a la lucha por la paz y la firmeza ideológica, constituyen las principales misiones del Partido, Informe Central al 7mo. Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba, presentado por el Primer Secretario del Comité Central, General de Ejército Raúl Castro Ruz, La Habana, 16 de Abril de 2016, Año 58 de la Revolución
9. Sara Romanò, Party membership, social ties and upward mobility in Cuba, International Journal of Cuban Studies
10. I Congreso del PCC: Tesis y Resolución sobre la vida interna del partido
11. Julio Martínez Molina, El mejor heredero de la fuerza heroica de la unidad cubana, Adelante, 10 Abril 2021, [link](#)
12. Reuters Staff, FACTBOX: Facts about Cuba's Communist party, FEBRUARY 24, 2008, [link](#)
13. Ivette García González, El VIII Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba: razones para trascender, La Joven Cuba, [link](#)
14. Leticia Martínez Hernández , Yaima Puig Meneses , Gladys Leidys Ramos López , Liz Conde Sánchez, Milagros Pichardo , Laura Mercedes Giráldez, Walkiria Juanes Sánchez, Yaditza del Sol González, Yudy Castro Morales , Presenta Raúl Informe Central al 8vo. Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba, Granma, 16 de abril de 2021 17:04:06, [link](#)

Paraguay

1. Marcos Ernesto Pérez Talia, La institucionalización partidista y su relación con la calidad de la democracia: Paraguay y Uruguay en perspectiva comparada, Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Nueva Época, Año LXII, núm. 229 enero-abril de 2017 ONPE - Estructura, democracia y financiamiento de los partidos políticos una mirada a través de sus estatutos
2. Scheffer - Entre la tradición y el afecto: La identificación partidaria en Paraguay
3. Rivarola - Políticas fiscales y desigualdad en Paraguay
4. Lopez - LA DEMOCRACIA EN PARAGUAY Un breve repaso sobre los partidos políticos tradicionales, el sistema electoral y el triunfo de Fernando Lugo Méndez
5. Schembida - LAS BASES DE LA INESTABILIDAD CULTURA E INSTITUCIONES POLÍTICAS EN PARAGUAY
6. Benjamin - Elecciones municipales y democratización en el Paraguay, NUEVA SOCIEDAD NRO.117 ENERO- FEBRERO 1992 , PP. 48-57
7. Rojas Scheffer Lachi - Vínculos afectivos y necesidades materiales La práctica clientelar en Paraguay
8. Brezzo - LA HISTORIOGRAFÍA PARAGUAYA DEL AISLAMIENTO A LA SUPERACIÓN DE LA MEDITERRANEIDAD, Diálogos, DHI/UEM, v. 7. p. 157-175, 2003
9. Rodriguez - PARAGUAY LA TRANSICIÓN SIN ALTERNANCIA, Política, No 42, Otoño 2004, 249-280
10. Arditi - Elecciones y partidos en el Paraguay de la transición, Revista Mexicana de Sociología
11. Nickson - Tyranny and Longevity Stroessner's Paraguay, Third World Quarterly
12. Justicia Electoral, Cartografía Electoral 2002
13. FERNANDO LUGO TERMINA CON 61 AÑOS DE HEGEMONÍA DEL PARTIDO COLORADO, Democracia en las Américas Junio 2008
14. De Riz - Los dilemas de la democracia paraguaya
15. Rodriguez - Inventario, trayectoria y semiótica del capital social en Paraguay (2002-2013), Población y Desarrollo. 2017; 23 (44): 34 - 44

16. Palacios, PARAGUAY DESDE LA DICTADURA DE STROESSNER HASTA LAS ELECCIONES PRESIDENCIALES DE 2013, TEMPUS Revista en Historia General Medellín (Colombia), 2017, Segundo Semestre, Número 6 Pp. 140-173, ISSN: 2422-2178
17. Paraguay, The Colorado Party, [link](#)
18. El Mundo, EUROPA PRESS, Muere en un atentado el vicepresidente de Paraguay, [link](#)
19. World Bank, Paraguay: Temas de desarrollo social para el alivio de la pobreza, DOCUMENTO DE TRABAJO N. 4/04, Enero de 2004, [link](#)
20. Adolfo Aquino, La ANR tiene 881.729 afiliados más que el PLRA en su padrón actualizado, [link](#)
21. Oxford Analytica (2015), "Paraguay party presidency may prove pyrrhic victory", Expert Briefings. [doi](#)
22. ANR: Más de 2,3 millones de afiliados en pre padrón, [link](#)
23. Casi el 40 percent de habilitados para votar están afiliados a más de un partido, [link](#)
24. TEP colorado publica lista de afiliados para verificación, [link](#)
25. La Nacion, ANR con nuevos afiliados, [link](#)

Mexico

1. Rodriguez - La Historia Moderna del PRI Entre la Autonomía y el Somentimiento
2. Silva - El Partido Revolucionario Institucional Los Años Recientes,
3. Cordova - La fundación del partido oficial, Conferencias magistrales
4. Loaeza - LOS PARTIDOS Y EL CAMBIO POLÍTICO EN MÉXICO, Revista de Estudios Políticos (Nueva Época) Núm. 74. Octubre-Diciembre 1991
5. Carrasco Hernandez - MILITANTES Y PARTIDOS POLÍTICOS: CONCENTRACIÓN E INTENSIDAD DE LA PARTICIPACIÓN PARTIDISTA EN EL ESTADO DE HIDALGO Parties and party members density and intens
6. Smith - Al servicio del sistema diputados y sectores del PRI, in, Los laberintos del poder el reclutamiento de las élites políticas en México, 1900-1971

Venezuela

1. Corrales - Authoritarian Survival Why Maduro Hasn't Fallen
2. EUROPA PRESS, El PSUV nombra a Hugo Chávez su 'líder eterno', [link](#)
3. Cubasi, Aumenta militancia Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela, [link](#)

Malaysia

1. Guan Chan - ELECTORAL POLITICS AND THE MALAYSIAN CHINESE ASSOCIATION IN JOHOR
2. A. B. Shamsul, THE "BATTLE ROYAL": The UMNO Elections of 1987, Southeast Asian Affairs
3. Case - The 1996 UMNO Party Election Two for the Show, Pacific Affairs
4. Case - The UMNO Party Election in Malaysia One for the Money, Asian Survey
5. Stockwell - The Formation and First Years of the United Malays National Organization (U.M.N.O.) 1946—1948, Modern Asian Studies
6. Stubbs - The United Malays National Organization, the Malayan Chinese Association, and the Early Years of the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1955, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies

Ba'ath Party Syria and Iraq

1. Alaa Al-Din Arafat - Hosni Mubarak and the Future of Democracy in Egypt
2. Blaydes - Rebuilding the Ba'thist State
3. Cabana - The Ba'th Party in Iraq from its beginning through today
4. CIA 1976 - Iraq under Baath rule 1968-1976 (CIA-RDP79T00889A000900040001-6)
5. Con Coughlin - Saddam His Rise and Fall (2005)
6. Devlin - The Baath Party Rise and Metamorphosis
7. Galvani - Syria and the Baath Party
8. Hanna Batatu - Syria's Peasantry, the Descendants of Its Lesser Rural Notables, and Their Politics-Princeton University Press (1999)

9. Hinnebush - Political Recruitment and Socialization in Syria The Case of the Revolutionary Youth Federation

10. Joseph Sassoon - Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party Inside an Authoritarian Regime-Cambridge University Press (2011)

11. Lisa Blaydes - State of Repression Iraq under Saddam Hussein-Princeton University Press (2018)

12. Wieland - SYRIA'S CHALLENGES AFTER THE ELECTION YEAR IS BASHAR AL-ASAD PART OF THE PROBLEM OR PART OF THE SOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, Pap. Polít. Bogotá (Colombia), Vol. 12, No. 1, 209-236, enero-junio 2007. ISSN 0122-4409

13. Joseph Sassoon (2017) Party and governance in the Arab republics, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 44:2, 227-239

Mongolia

1. (Central Asian Studies) Irina Y. Morozova - Socialist Revolutions in Asia The Social History of Mongolia in the 20th Century-Routledge (2009)

2. Heaton - Mongo LIAIN 1983 Mixed Signals, ASIAN SURVEY, VOL. XXIV, NO. 1, JANUARY 1984

3. Green - China and Mongolia Recurring Trends and Prospects for Change, Asian Survey

4. Rupen - Recent Trends in the Mongolian People's Republic,

5. Ballis - The Political Evolution of a Soviet Satellite The Mongolian People's Republic, Western Political Quarterly

6. CIA 1950 - Mongolian People's Republic. Political Gvt, parties, foreign relations (CIA-RDP80-00809A000600310264-4)

7. Fish - The Inner Asian anomaly: Mongolia's democratization in comparative perspective, Communist and Post-Communist Studies 34 (2001) 323-338

8. Heaton - MONGOLIA LOOKING FORWARD AT FIFTY,

9. Heaton - MONGOLIAIN 1990, Upheaval, Reform, but No Revolution Yet, ASIANSURVEY, VOL. XXXI, NO. 1, JANUARY 1991

10. Heaton – Mongolia in 1991: The Uneasy Transition, ASIANSURVEY, VOL. XXXII, NO. 1, JANUARY 1992
11. Heaton - Mongolia at Fifty, Pacific Affairs , Winter, 1974-1975, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Winter, 1974-1975), pp. 485- 499
12. Isono - Soviet Russia and the Mongolian Revolution of 1921, Past Present , May, 1979, No. 83 (May, 1979), pp. 116-140
13. Nordby - MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, 1924 - 1928 , AND THE RIGHT DEVIATION,
14. Judith Nordby (1987) The Mongolian people's republic in the 1980s: Continuity and change, Journal of Communist Studies, 3:4, 113-131, [Doi:](#)
15. Rupen - THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC THE SLOW EVOLUTION
16. Sanders - MONGOLIA 1976: DRAWING TOGETHER FRANKLY WITH THE SOVIET UNION
17. Artjoms Ivlevs Milena Nikolova Olga Popova, Former Communist Party Membership and Present-Day Entrepreneurship in Central and Eastern Europe, IZA DP No. 12761

Singapore

1. CIA 1973 – Singapore (CIA-RDP01-00707R000200090010-5)
2. Diane K. Mauzy - Singapore Politics Under the People's Action Party (Politics in Asia, 35) (2002)
3. Netina Tan, Institutionalized Hegemonic Party: The Resilience of the People's Action Party (PAP) in Singapore
4. Lian - The People's Action Party, 1954-1963

Taiwan

1. (St Antony's) Steve Tsang, Tien Hung-mao (eds.) - Democratization in Taiwan Implications for China-Palgrave Macmillan UK (1999)
2. Business and politics in Taiwan - The long arm of the KMT Business The Economist
3. Cheng - STRATEGIZING PARTY ADAPTATION
4. Dickson - The Lessons of Defeat The Reorganization of the Kuomintang on Taiwan, 1950-52

5. Dirlik - Mass Movements and the Left Kuomintang
6. Domes - The 13th Party Congress of the Kuomintang Towards Political Competition
7. Hung-mao (ed) - Taiwan's Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition
8. Hung-mao (ed)- 1996 Taiwan's electoral politics and democratic transition
9. JPRI Working Paper No. 47
10. McBeath - Transformation of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) Adjusting to Liberalization
11. Olli Hellmann (auth.) - Political Parties and Electoral Strategy The Development of Party Organization in East Asia-Palgrave Macmillan UK (2011)
12. Party Organization Cohesion and Resilience Explain
13. Tien-wei - A Review of the Wuhan Debacle The Kuomintang-Communist Split of 1927
14. Wai-chor - THE KUOMINTANG LEFT IN OPPOSITION, 1928-1931 THE LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE IN CHINESE POLITICS
15. Wang - HE KUOMINTANG IN TRANSITION IDEOLOGY AND FACTIONALISM IN THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION, 1924-1932
16. Wu - The Kuomintang and political development in Taiwan since 1968

USSR

1. Harasymiw - The CPSU in Transition from Brezhnev to Gorbachev, Canadian Journal of Political Science
2. Gill - The Collapse of a Single-Party System The Disintegration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
3. Gerber, Membership Benefits or Selection Effects? Why Former Communist Party Members Do Better in Post-Soviet Russia, Social Science Research 29, 25–50 (2000) doi:10.1006/ssre.1999.0651
4. Hanchett - Some Observations on Membership Figures of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
5. harasymiw - Changes in the party's composition The 'Destroyka' of the CPSU
6. Marks - Communist party membership in five former Soviet bloc countries, 1945–1989

7. Rigby - Communist Party membership in the U.S.S.R., 1917-1967-Princeton University Press (1968)
8. Rigby - Soviet Communist Party Membership under Brezhnev
9. Rigby - Staffing USSR Incorporated The Origins of the Nomenklatura System
10. Roeder - Modernization and Participation in the Leninist Developmental Strategy
11. (1979) The CPSU in Figures, Soviet Law and Government, 17:4, 19-63, [doi](#)
12. Unger - Political Participation in the USSR YCL and CPSU
13. White Mcallister - The CPSU and Its Members Between Communism and Postcommunism

Russia

1. Swain, Alison (2010) The development of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, 1993 - 2008. PhD thesis.
2. Artjoms Ivlevs Milena Nikolova Olga Popova, Former Communist party membership and present-day entrepreneurship, Small Bus Econ [doi](#)
3. Stephen White, Richard Sakwa, Henry E. Hale - Developments in Russian Politics 7-Palgrave Macmillan (2009)
4. Fauconnier (2012), United Russia's Political Recruitment
5. Reuter - The Politics of Dominant Part Formation United Russia and Russia's Governors
6. Roberts (2012) United Russia and the Dominant Party

USSR Satellites

1. Martha Brill Olcott, The Collectivization Drive in Kazakhstan, The Russian Review
2. Szelényi - Social Inequality and Party Membership: Patterns of Recruitment into the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, American Sociological Review, Vol. 52, No. 5 (Oct., 1987)
3. RICHARD F. STAAR, THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY 1918-1948, The Polish Review , Spring-Summer 1956, Vol. 1, No. 2/3 (Spring-Summer 1956), pp. 41-58
4. Stoica - Once upon a Time There Was a Big Party/ The Social Bases of the Romanian Communist Party (Part II), East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 20, No. 3, pages 447-482. ISSN 0888-3254

5. Nicholas Anderton (1986) The thirteenth congress of the Bulgarian communist party, *Journal of Communist Studies*, 2:3, 308-312, DOI: 10.1080/13523278608414827
6. Cherot - Nativization of Government and Party Structure in Kazakhstan, 1920-1930, *The American Slavic and East European Review* , Feb., 1955, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Feb., 1955), pp. 42-58
7. CIA 1951 - Bulgarian Communist Party Activities (CIA-RDP82-00039R000200050022-1)
8. CIA 1957 - FACTIONALISM IN THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY (1945-1956)
9. CIA 1963 - Bulgaria Communist Party (CIA-RDP79-00927A004100120003-3)
10. Spirova - The Bulgarian Socialist Party: The long road to Europe, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41 (2008) 481e495
11. Christopher Ford (2009) Outline History of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Independents): An Emancipatory Communism 1918–1925, *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 17:2, 193-246, DOI: 10.1080/09651560903172274
12. Gabriel Stoess - Parteiendemokratie in Deutschland
13. Gordon B. Smith (auth.) - Soviet Politics Continuity and Contradiction-Macmillan Education UK (1988)
14. Hanchett - Some Observations on Membership Figures of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
15. Hanley-2003-A-party-of-workers-or-a-party-of-in
16. Ivan S Lubachko - Belorussia Under Soviet Rule, 1917–1957-University Press of Kentucky (2014)
17. Stephen Jones (1988) The establishment of Soviet power in Transcaucasia: The case of Georgia 1921–1928, *Soviet Studies*, 40:4, 616-639
18. Marks - Communist party membership in five former Soviet bloc countries, 1945–1989
19. Mason - Membership of the Polish United Workers Party
20. Michael G. Stefany - KAZAKHIZATION, KUNAEV AND KAZAKHSTAN A BRIDGE TO INDEPENDENCE
21. Misiunas Romuald J. Taagepera Rein - The Baltic states years od dependence, 1940-1990-University of California Press (1993)

22. Misiunas-1989-The-baltic-states-years-of-dependen
23. Richard F. Staar - Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe (Hoover Press publication) (1982)
24. Rigby - Research note on a new source on Soviet communist party membership
25. Titma et al. - Communist Party Members
26. Toma - Revival of a Communist Party in Hungary
27. Wightman - Czechoslovakia The seventeenth party congress
28. Wightman Brown. 1975 - Changes in the Levels of Membership and Social Composition of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 1945-73
29. Wightman. 1983 - Membership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the 1970s Continuing Divergence from the Soviet Model
30. Wong - The Social Composition of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Communist Parties in the 1980s
31. Chirot - Social Change in Communist Romania
32. CIA 1969 - Rumania's Second Generation Communist Leadership (CIA-RDP79-00927A007100030002-1)
33. CIA 1970 - Romania, General Survey (CIA-RDP01-00707R000200110033-7)
34. Iancu Soare - Party Membership in Romania: Political Legitimacy, Party Finance and Organisational Changes, Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review, 2020, Vol. 56, No. 3: 315–341 [link](#)
35. Stoica. 2005 - Once upon a Time There Was a Big Party The Social Bases of the Romanian Communist Party
36. Vladimir Tismăneanu - Stalinism for All Seasons A Political History of Romanian Communism-University of California Press (2003)
37. Catherine Epstein - The Last Revolutionaries German Communists and Their Century
38. CIA 1959 - The Apparatus and the Working Methods of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) (CIA-RDP80T00246A073900060001-5)
39. Malycha - Die SED in der Aera Honecker Machstrukturen, Entscheidungsmechanismen und Konfliktfelder in der Staatspartei 1971 bis 1989

Vietnam

1. Chesneaux Tinker - The Historical Background of Vietnamese Communism
2. CIA 1966 - Analysis of the Vietnamese Communists Strengths, Capabilities and Will to Persist (CIA-RDP80R01720R000400150008-0)
3. CIA 1972 - North Vietnam Handbook (CIA-RDP85T00875R001100130003-9)
4. Joiner - THE VIETNAMCOMMUNISTPARTY STRIVESTO REMAINTHE ONLY FORCE
5. Lewis M. Stern - Renovating the Vietnamese Communist Party Nguyen Van Linh and the Programme for Organizational Reform, 1987-91-Palgrave Macmillan (1994)
6. Markussen Ngo - Economic and non-economic returns to Communist Party membership in Vietnam
7. Mau - THE TRAINING OF CADRES IN THE LAO DONG PARTY OF NORTH VIETNAM 1960-1967
8. Smith - The Foundation of the Indochinese Communist Party, 1929-1930
9. Thayer - The Tenth Party Congress and After
10. Van Canh Nguyen - Vietnam Under Communism, 1975-1982-Hoover Institution Press (1983)
11. Vu - Communist party oof vietnam at 83
12. Trung - The Fifth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Contemporary Southeast Asia , September 1982, Vol. 4, No. 2 (September 1982), pp. 236-245
13. Pha Pluat, ng Cng sn Vit Nam hin có 5,2 triu ng viên, [link](#)

Yugoslavia

1. Denitch - Violence and Social Change in the Yugoslav Revolution Lessons for the Third World
2. Haug - CREATING A SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA
3. Miller Merrill.1979 - Yugoslav central committee memberships What the figures show
4. Neal - THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA 1957
5. Paul Lewis - Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe (2001)
6. Ramet. 1984 - Political Struggle and Institutional Reorganization in Yugoslavia

7. Schnytzer and Sustersic 1998 - Why Join the Party in a One-Party System Popularity versus Political Exchange
8. Seroka. 1978 - Prospects for Stability in Post-Tito Yugoslavia
9. Suvin 2013 - Splendours and Miseries of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (1945–74)
10. Verba Shabad - Workers' Councils and Political Stratification The Yugoslav Experience
11. Vomlela - Organizational structure of transforming league of Communists of Serbia
12. Kukic - Regional Development Under Socialism: Evidence From Yugoslavia, LSE Economic History Working Papers No: 267/2017
13. Wachtel Bennett - The DissoluTion of Yugoslavia